Exploring the double bind facing female political party leaders:
An analysis of Party Election Broadcasts in the 2017 General Election in Britain.

Nicole Jay Vera Perretta

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Abstract

Women in leadership roles have historically been disadvantaged by double binds; in what Jamieson calls the 'competence/femininity' bind, female leaders must be both competent and feminine, while "defining femininity in a way that excludes competence" (1995, p.18). Competence, especially in the political arena, has therefore been naturally associated with masculinity and male leadership. Academics have blamed this bind for the exclusion of women in politics, as it sets them up to fail by both standards of masculinity and femininity (Campbell, 1989; Jamieson 1995; Kahn, 1996; Lovenduski, 2005).

Enter the 2017 UK General Election, appearing to undermine these claims, as almost half of the major political parties had female party leaders (Harmer and Southern, 2018). This dissertation aims to explore whether female leaders still face a double bind in politics by analysing how gender is performed in Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs). By applying a VideoStyle content analysis alongside a qualitative visual analysis to the PEBs from the 2017 election, this research has found that the gender of a party leader is crucial in deciding the verbal, nonverbal and production elements of a parties election strategy. Furthermore, the research results reveal that the parties with female leaders were much more likely than those with male leaders to present masculine characteristics, strategies, and rhetorical styles— often to emphasise their political qualifications and experience. This, combined with other findings, reinforces the existence of the double bind in the British political system, suggesting that even when women reach the highest roles in politics, they still face questions over their legitimacy.

Key Words: Gender, British politics, female leadership, political performance, masculinity, femininity, double bind, femininity/competence, feminising politics.

Contents

1. Introduction

Women and politics have never had an easy relationship. In previous centuries women have been explicitly excluded from the political sphere, with femininity being defined in a way which made it unsuitable for women to hold leadership positions (Campbell, 1989). Due to their unique rhetorical history in the public sphere, Jamieson argues that women face a series of double binds[1] that reinforce the patriarchal system in society by creating "unrealizable expectations [which] are also designed to undercut women's exercise of power" (1995, p.18). Throughout this thesis, I explore Jamieson's 'femininity/competence' bind[2] in politics (1995, p,18). Unlike for female leaders, in this bind, male competence in political leadership is naturally assumed, giving them an advantage when performing in political campaigns (Kahn, 1996). The inherent masculinity associated with politics is exemplified in the British political system, with Lovenduski suggesting that "the Westminster culture embodies practices that reward traditional forms of masculinity and disallow traditional forms of femininity" (2005, p.48). But for observers, the 2017 General Election in the UK appeared to challenge the notion that women struggle to reach powerful political positions. Not only was this the first time in Britain since 1987 that a general election was called for, and contested by, a woman, four of the major political parties[3] ran with a woman as their party leader (Harmer and Southern, 2018, p.237). So, does this mean that women

[1] A 'double bind' is another word for a contradictory situation where you have two options, neither of which are desirable" (Jamieson, 1995, p.5).
[2] In summary, this bind creates unrealizable expectations for women "by requiring both femininity and competence of women in the public sphere, and then defining femininity in a way that excludes competence" (Jamieson, 1995, p.18).
[3] The Conservative party (Theresa May), Scottish Nationalist Party (Nicola Sturgeon), Plaid Cymru (Leanne Woods), Arlene Foster (Democratic Unionist Party). In addition to this the Green party had a female co-leader (Caroline Lucas) (Harmer and Southern, 2108, p.237).

have overcome the double bind of leadership? Is this finally evidence that women no longer face questions over their ability to lead?

These questions are rhetorical, but they highlight the overarching themes in this thesis which questions the relationship between acceptable political performances and gender. Throughout this research, gender itself is seen as a performance which a person can 'do' by adhering to 'psychological, cultural and social' rituals which are attributed to masculine and/or feminine natures—making it "a powerful ideological device" (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p.147). Gender is therefore an inescapable part of performance in the political arena, especially throughout election campaigns, where voters impressions of a party leader heavily impacts their electoral choice (Franklin, 2004). In order to understand how gender was factored into parties political performances in the 2017 General Election, this thesis analyses the PEBs from nine[4] different parties. Party Election Broadcasts are very revealing about wider election strategies because political parties have complete control over the image that they construct (McNair, 2017, p.104). Thus, in theory, the political performance produced should exemplify a parties overarching campaign strategy, including how gender characteristics are presented. This research is important because it allows for an examination of a parties performance of gender direct from their campaign materials, something which is not often the focus of academic work in British politics. From this perspective, my thesis hopes to highlight that both male and female led parties reinforce political prejudices towards women via their Party Election Broadcasts. Accordingly,

[4] These parties are: The Conservative Party, The Labour Party, The Scottish Nationalist Party, The Liberal Democrats, The UK Independence Party, Sinn Fein, The Democratic Unionist Party, Plaid Cymru, and The Green Party (see Appendix 3 for a summary of the PEBs studied).

this line of research speaks to wider themes of election campaigning, and the effect that gender has on determining the best strategy for politicians to appeal to the electorate.

6.1 Research Objectives

The aim of this research is to understand how gender characteristics are represented by political parties in their Party Election Broadcasts, and whether this suggests that female party leaders still face a double bind. In order to examine this, I have formulated two research questions: **Q1)** Do the verbal, nonverbal and production strategies used in Party Election Broadcasts vary depending on the gender of the party leader? **Q2)** By considering their election strategy, is there evidence that female political party leaders face a double bind?

To answer these questions, I have conducted a VideoStyle content analysis on twenty-three Party Election Broadcasts from the 2017 UK General Election. This methodology has allowed me to specifically identify how 'masculine' and 'feminine' rhetorical styles are incorporated into the verbal, nonverbal and production elements of the PEBs. Alongside this, the quantitative data is illustrated by a qualitative analysis of the visual themes apparent in the videos. Before discussing my research findings, this thesis overviews the theoretical frameworks surrounding political performance, political television advertisements, 'feminine' style of politics and the double bind of female leadership. Subsequently, the research questions are answered thoroughly throughout my findings and analysis section, which has been split into three themes; compensating for gender: the realities of the double bind for female political leaders, the feminisation of election

campaigns?: female rhetoric in Party Election Broadcasts, and reproducing gender stereotypes: the importance of visual communication.

The overarching findings from this research reveal that the gender of a political party leader has a significant influence on the verbal, nonverbal and production elements of Party Election Broadcasts. For example, parties with female political leaders are more likely to adopt traditionally masculine characteristics than the male leaders. Additionally, female leaders tended to stress their political experience and qualifications, suggesting that they needed to reinforce their competence as leaders. This implies that when formulating election strategies, the politicians themselves are aware of the double bind that face female leaders. My research also showed that feminine rhetorical techniques are the most dominant style across all of the PEBs, potentially suggesting that there has been a process of 'feminisation' in acceptable political performances. However, as I suggest, women in this instance still face a bind as men are able to transgress into this 'feminine' style easily, whereas women have to be much more cautious when deviating into a 'masculine style. Lastly, a core finding was that visual communication was used by parties (particularly those with female leaders) to reinforce normative gender stereotypes. I argue that this reproduction of gender stereotypes helps to position the female leader as an 'exception' to the rule, and thus not a threat to the status quo.

2. Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework provides academic context to this thesis, by outlining the core themes relating to political performance and gender. To do this, the framework is separated into four main research areas: **2.1** Political Performance, **2.2** Political Television Advertisements, **2.3** 'Feminine' Style of Politics, **2.4** The 'Double Bind' of Female Leadership. Additionally, the final section, **2.5** briefly outlines the context of the 2017 UK General Election. It is important to take into account the context of an election, as the 'campaign climate' affects the type of performance expected of the politicians, and so it can either open up opportunities, or present obstacles, to female leaders (Kahn, 1996, p.130).

2.1 Political Performance

Political performance refers to the use of verbal and nonverbal behaviour to communicate information to a mass audience usually related specifically to "state institutions, policies and discourse" (Rai, 2016, p.1180). Corner and Pels identify that it is necessary for politicians to perform the 'styling of self', where they project idealised personas and characteristics to influence the electorates choice when they vote (Corner and Pels, 2003, p,10). It is from this perspective that this research seeks to understand the behaviour of the political leaders examined in the Party Election Broadcasts. Here, Erving Goffman's (1959) work, '*The presentation of self in everyday life*', is seminal. Goffman discusses the idea that individuals are constantly putting on a 'front' in the social world, in order to project an idealised appearance to the audience around us (1959, p.28). He states the importance of conveying authenticity, as the audience is constantly

looking out for discrepancies between appearances and reality, to judge whether it is "true or false, genuine or spurious, valid or 'phony'" (Goffman, 1959, p.66). Because of the relationship between politics and performance, Goffman's theory of self-presentation has been applied to politicians and 'the projection of political persona' (Corner and Pels, 2003, p.10). Particularly during election campaigns, the party leader is often thrust into the spotlight and their political performance is judged as relating to their parties competence as a governing body (Grabe and Bucy, 2009, p.5). If a political leader is seen as inauthentic, or portraying qualities that are contradictory to their parties values, it can be detrimental to their popularity and diminish the hopes of election success. Party leaders 'performance of self' should therefore reflect the values of their party and their manifesto, as well as the qualities they believe the electorate want in a competent leader (King, 2002).

Additionally, political performance extends beyond just what a politician talks about, a large element of it is their visual and nonverbal communication. This is because they "provide reliable insights into the affective state and behavioral intention of the communicator." (Grabe and Bucy, 2009, p.19). It has been argued that visual communication has largely been overlooked in research by political communication scholars, despite it having a central role in constructing political images (Schill, 2012; Wodak, 2011; Grabe and Bucy 2009; Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles; 1996; Dyer; 2002). Visuals are key to election campaigning because the 'symbolic representations' of candidates which are interjected into campaigns are fundamental in portraying civil competence to voters (Alexander, 2010, p.9). Alexander argues that winning power depends on political performances being believed and encompassing the wider mood of the nation, in this sense, "the struggle for power becomes theatrical." (2010, p.9). Therefore, in

the age of 'personalities and presidentialism' in Britain, the media persona of political leaders are placed visually at the forefront of election campaigns for scrutiny by the media and the public (Franklin, 2004, p.12).

In this research, I have chosen to analyse Party Elections Broadcasts (PEBs) in order to examine the intended political performance of each parties political leader. By intended, I mean that PEBs content are controlled by the politician and their team, so they have the potential to be "rehearsed, reshot and redone until the right video image and message are received" (Bystrom et al., 2004, p.11). Consequently, the political persona that is presented in PEBs should epitomise the exact political image that a party wishes to portray to the electorate. As Scammell and Langer state, Party Election Broadcasts are "documentary evidence of the state of modern political persuasion" (2006, p.764).

2.2 Political Television Advertisements

As previously mentioned, political television adverts have been heralded as a direct form of political communication, this is because it is produced by the politician themselves and thus has not been 'distorted' by the media and journalists (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 1995, p.10). During election campaigns in Britain political parties produce Party Election Broadcasts, which due to its unmediated nature, are seen as "by far the single most important direct address to voters" (Scammell and Langer, 2006, p.764). Importantly, they are 'packaged' specifically for citizens with the aim to be understandable and accessible, yet informative about the parties election aims. They represent parties intended 'presentation of self' and thus are integral in understanding how

gender plays into parties political strategies (Kahn, 1996, p.30). Exemplifying this, Franklin suggests that "a well-produced Party Election Broadcast is a more effective vehicle for communicating party policy than a thousand poorly attended public meetings" (2004, p.11).

In academia, research on political television advertisements is most commonly associated with American politics, due to the strict regulation on PEBs in Britain which make them 'uncommercialised' (McNair, 2017, p.104). Instead, Ofcom (the UK's media regulatory body) allocate free airtime to political parties for PEBs to be transmitted, they are also tasked with judging the minimum amount of PEBs each channel has to air (and to what party) by considering party's previous and present electoral support (Ofcom, 2017, p.3). British advocacy of this system originally comes from a rejection of the political advertising system in America (Franklin, 2004). For example, PEBs have to be longer than 2:40 minutes to avoid 'oversimplification and trivialization', which happens in Americans popular 30 second 'spot' political adverts (Franklin, 2004, p.126). However, as McNair states, PEBs while "not paid for in the American sense, they are produced using the same techniques and with the same budgets as commercial advertisements" (2017, p.104). Therefore while the way they are broadcasted differ, the production and content of UK political advertisements could be seen as similar to their American counterparts and often emphasise a 'presidential' style of political communication (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 1995). This refers to the idea that British elections are becoming 'presidential races', and are no longer framed around a competition between parties and their policies, but instead around the party leaders and their competence to govern (Evans and Menon, 2017). In this light, the gender of a parties leader has been thrust to center stage during election campaigns, making it a key component of any election strategy—of which PEBs are an

important platform (Trimble, 2017). The next sections discusses these theories around gendered political performances, and both the advantages and disadvantages of adopting a feminine rhetorical style.

2.3 'Feminine' Style[5] of Politics

Gender is a key element in understanding the political performance of any party or party leader. Summarised by Scott, "gender is one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived, legitimised and criticised" (1988, p.48). Therefore, it is important to understand what characteristics constitute a 'masculine' and 'feminine' style of politics, and how these are incorporated into the political sphere. West and Zimmerman suggest that gender is something that we actively 'do' and perform on a daily basis— it is not something ascribed by biology[6], but rather it is "constructed through psychological, cultural and social means" (1987, p.125). Therefore, 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are performed through a series of 'conventionalized acts' which can be decoded to understand a person's presentation of self (Goffman, 1979, p.1). Throughout this research, gender is understood as a social construct, defined by the ascribing of traits and styles which are traditionally considered either masculine or feminine.

[5] When referring to 'style' throughout this research, I am adopting Pels definition that "Style refers to an heterogeneous ensemble of ways of speaking, acting, looking, displaying, and handling things" (2003, p.45).
[6] It is important here to make a distinction between a person's 'sex' and 'gender': "Sex is a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males. [...] Gender, in contrast, is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category. " (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p.127).

A feminine political style come from women's 'virtually unique' rhetorical history, which is as a result of their experience being denied access to speak freely in the public sphere, especially within the realm of politics (Campbell, 1989, p.9). Patriarchal traditions within the public sphere has lead to the normative style of politics being associated with a stereotypically 'masculine' political style, because "politics is defined as a masculine activity." (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984, p.118). A feminine style of political rhetoric is defined as being "comprised of the dimensions of discourse [...] which we discover in the public political discourse of women." (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p.357). But as I emphasise throughout this research, this is not a style exclusive to women; men are also able to utilise characteristics of the feminine style, just as women can utilise characteristics of a masculine style (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p.357). One of the most influential works looking at the characteristics of a feminine rhetorical style is Campbell's 1989 book '*Man cannot speak for her'.* She explores the history of female speakers, and how a specific rhetorical style "emerged out of their experiences as a women" (Campbell, 1989, p.12). Campbell identified six characteristics which occurs in female public speech discourse, as summarised by Bystrom (2004, p.436):

> *(a) is personal in tone; (b) addresses the audience as peers (by using inclusive pronouns and the discussion of similar experiences); (c) invites audience participation or action; (d) relies on personal experiences, anecdotes, and other examples; (e) identifies with the experiences of the audience; and (f) is structured inductively.*

In contrast to this, Bystrom highlights four opposing characteristics that a masculine political rhetorical style is often associated with opposing characteristics (2004, p.436-437):

> *(a) deductive logic and reasoning, [...] in which the speaker presents his or her conclusions before giving examples; (b) affirmation of one's own expertise; (c) use of expert authority*

("impartial" statistics or examples) provided by a third party, [...] and (d) use of impersonal or incomplete examples.

Following this, it has been suggested that the verbal and nonverbal elements of political performance, which are commonly associated with masculine traits, have been normalised in the political arena; thus resulting in women having a inherently disadvantaged position from the offset during election campaigns (Jones, 2016; Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996; Carlson; 2001, Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984; Jamieson; 1990, Jamieson; 1995). Subsequently, in order to appear as a capable politician, women have had to abandon a 'feminine style' of politics to conform to a masculine style of political performance. In his research, Jones suggests that in campaign advertisements female politicians were more likely to portray 'masculine characteristics' than their male opponents, which in turn increases their electability and makes them more likely to win (2016, p.627). The findings of this research are also mirrored by work of other academics such as Carlson (2001), Panagopoulos (2004) Sapiro et al., (2011), Huddy and Terkildsen (1993).

Alternatively to this view, there is a wave of literature which suggests that women benefit from exploring a feminine style of political performance (Alexander and Anderson, 1993). Alexander contests that female politicians "cannot prove their civil capacity by taking on the attributes associated with men. They need to make civil meaning in a female way" (2010, p.129). This could be seen as being a progressive change to the political sphere, as feminine rhetorical style contains more positive elements than a masculine style (Dow and Tonn, 1993, p.296). In this light, female politicians are associated with being more "compassionate, sensitive, understanding and honest than male politicians" (Carlson, 2001, p.136). These characteristics can be harnessed

by female politicians, for example, Nunn (2002) in her examination of Margaret Thatcher's political image, argues that Thatcher used her femininity to boost her electoral popularity and craft her iconic political persona. Therefore, there is the potential for women to capitalise on the stereotypes which associate women with positive characteristics (Herrnson et al., 2003, p.245). However, it is important to highlight that male politicians are equally as able to evoke these positive feminine characteristics, and according to some scholars, are more likely to succeed at doing so (Jamieson, 1990; Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996).

Relevant to this research on PEBs, Jamieson (1990) suggests that due to the intimate, personal and inclusive nature of television, a womanly style of political performance (as set out by Campbell, 1989) is the preference on this particular medium (1990, p.83). This is because the history of women's rhetoric stems from the private sphere, and television brings matters of the public sphere into the peoples private homes (Jamieson, 1990, p.83). She argues that once women overcome their 'socially reinforced' attachment to their masculine style, they will be able to capitalise on the advantage that television performances give them (Jamieson, 1990, p.84). Despite this, Jamieson suggests later in her work that stereotypes of men as political leaders are so systematically entrenched, men are actually "more likely to succeed in the "womanly" style than an equally competent but stereotypically disadvantaged women" (1990, p.87). This implies that even if women utilise the 'feminine style' of politics to gain popularity with voters, men could deploy the same tactics and still be more successful. Stemming from this, Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles raise an interesting debate around celebrating the introduction of a 'feminine' style to political discourse (1996, p.360):

> *While female candidates may be able to appropriate a "feminine" style, the actual construction of candidate image [...] depends heavily on traditionally "masculine" myths, icons, and character traits derived from participation in male-based institutions.*

They go on to suggest that the incorporation of the feminine style by both male and female politicians, is used to 'mask' the patriarchy which exists in contemporary politics by giving the perception of change (Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996, p.348).

In the political arena it is clear to see that elements of a feminine style have already been incorporated into political performances. For example, men often 'take on' feminine traits in order to represent themselves as 'trustworthy and caring' especially in 'feminine' areas such as childcare, healthcare, and social/domestic policy (Kahn, 1996, p.9). Concurrently, female politicians also adopt masculine characteristics in order to present themselves as competent and strong when emphasising male policy areas like foreign policy and the economy (Kahn, 1996, p.9). This has lead to the conceptualisation of the "Androgynous Politician" in which male and female politicians are required to adopt both a masculine and feminine political style in order to appeal to the masses (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). Huddy and Terkildsen argue that this 'balancing act' is necessary in order to compensate in areas where candidates are stereotypically disadvantaged due to their gender (1993, p.121). Under their assumption female politicians, for example, would spend time in their political advertisements emphasising their strength of character and policy on the economy (where they are typically assumed to be weaker). Whereas, male politicians would present themselves as compassionate in areas such as healthcare (where female are presumed to be advantaged). Challenging the success of this tactic, the next section of this theoretical framework explores the 'double bind' that women politicians find themselves in

when they try to portray male characteristics (Jamieson, 1995). As Jones suggests, “rarely do women act “like women” to achieve power and influence in politics” (2016, p.636).

2.4 The Double Bind of Female Leadership

The concept of the ‘double bind’ comes from Jamieson (1995) in her seminal book, *Beyond the double bind: Women and leadership.* This book explores five double binds of being a women in leadership, but of particular relevance to this thesis is her work on the ‘femininity/competence’ bind. This notion comes from the contradiction women face in the public sphere, where they are required to show both “femininity and competence [...] and then defining femininity in a way that excludes competence.” (Jamieson, 1995, p.18). Under this bind, competence in leadership is assumed for males but female leaders have to prove theirs, which requires them to adopt masculine traits to replicate those expected of leaders (Jamieson, 1995, p.125). Yet as Jamieson suggests, this is not easy for women to do (1995, p.125):

> *[Women are] penalized for both deviating from the masculine norm and for appearing to be masculine. [...] They are scrutinized for evidence that they lack masculine (instrumental) characteristics as well as for signs that they no longer possess female (expressive) ones.*

Female political leaders are therefore likely to fail under the scrutiny of the public as both a woman and as a politician, with them constantly needing to prove that they are ‘tough enough’ to be in a position of power (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p.354). The challenge for female political leaders is clear, how do they represent themselves within the double bind they exist in. Kim Campbell, the former prime minister of Canada highlights this struggle (as quoted in Jones, 2016, p.626):

> *I don't have a traditionally female way of speaking ... I'm quite assertive. If I didn't speak the way I do, I wouldn't have been seen as a leader. But my way of speaking may have grated on people [...] It was the right way for a leader to speak, but it wasn't the right way for a woman to speak.*

In their examination of the 2017 election campaign, Harmer and Southern identify that from the start it was framed in a 'presidential style' which was "fraught with danger for [the] women leaders" (2018, p.238). Uniquely, this election has an 'abundance of leading female figures', making it an interesting case study to examine the compatibility between femininity and political leadership (Harmer and Southern, 2018, p.237). The rest of this research addresses this topic. As previously suggested, Party Election Broadcasts are a politician 'controlled' medium and therefore the traits that the political leaders portray will have been planned, strategised, and deliberately performed. This research aims to determine what the political performances during the 2017 election campaign suggests about the existence of the double bind in modern election campaigns.

2.5 Context of the 2017 UK General Election

Before considering the findings of this research, it is important to consider the electoral context of this election. Tonge et al. summarises the 2017 UK General Election as "a contest supposed to be one of the most one-sided of all time [which] confounded most predictions in yielding only the third hung parliament of the 20 post-war elections." (2018, p.1). This election was a snap election called by the current Prime Minister, Theresa May, on the 18th of April to take place on the 8th of June (BBC, 2017b). May heralded a mandate for the Brexit negotiations as her main

motivation for calling this election (BBC, 2017b). However, most observers would note that this was a strategic play for the Conservative Party, with them leading significantly in opinion polls at the time (Wring et al., 2019, p.6). Furthermore, this election took place at a time of uncharted political uncertainty in Britain after the events of 2016[7] (Evans and Menon, 2017). Importantly, regarding the political strategy of the campaigns, this election was unexpected which "meant there was minimal time for campaign planning" (Ward and Wring, 2018, p.203). Therefore, all the preparatory work usually done over many months had to be condensed into just a couple of weeks (Cowley and Kavanagh, 2018, p.149). This meant that the campaigns had to be even more effective in producing clear, persuasive messaging to penetrate through to the electorate in a short space of time. Grounded by this theoretical framework, I am now going to outline my methodology and findings from this thesis.

[7] During 2016, British politics experienced a closely called referendum meaning that Britain was leaving the European Union, the polarisation of the leave and remain political campaigns, the resignation of the UK's prime minister David Cameron, and the election of an unpredictable Donald Trump as our most powerful ally (Hagemann, 2017).

3. Methodology

To fully address my research questions, this thesis has adopted a VideoStyle content analysis of the 2017 Party Election Broadcasts, in order to analyse whether there were differences between the political performances of parties with female leaders compared to parties with male leaders. Alongside this core method, I have illustrated my points with a qualative visual analysis. The next section has been split up into five themes: **3.1** VideoStyle approach, **3.2** Sampling, **3.3** Coding sheet, **3.4** Intercoder reliability, **3.5** Evaluation of method. This overviews what VideoStyle is, how I have applied it to my research, and why it was the best method to identify the role of gender within the PEBs. In terms of the ethical implications of this research, it is important to state that from the off-set this method was unobtrusive and had no ethical implications. While informed consent was not gained, the PEBs that I have studied are intended to be consumed by citizens in the public domain and are freely available online—therefore it is not subject to the same levels of ethical scrutiny as a private video (Hewson et al., 2016) (see Appendix 1 for my approved ethics form).

3.1 VideoStyle approach

VideoStyle was initially introduced by Kaid and Davidson (1986) and it relies on content analytic methods to identify "all the ways in which political candidates present themselves through their television advertising" (Bystrom et al., 2004, p.10). Its theoretical base builds on Goffman's (1959) concept of "self-presentation", however, it has since been developed by Bystrom (1995) to identify masculine and feminine political performance styles based on

Campbell's (1989) study on a feminine rhetorical style (Bystrom et al., 2004, p.9). The VideoStyle method aims to analyse three components[8] of political advertisements: "the verbal elements, the nonverbal elements and the production elements" (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2008, p.809). This approach was developed in America to analyse spot ads, and has been used over multiple years on large-scale research projects to analyse and compare the changing VideoStyle of candidates running in American elections (Kaid and Davidson, 1986; Bystrom and Miller, 1990; Bystrom, 1995; Kaid and Johnston, 2001; Bystrom and Kaid, 2002; Bystrom et al., 2004; Bystrom and Brown, 2011; Miller, 2016.) This attests to VideoStyles reproducibility and ability to provide a longitudinal analysis of trends in political communication.

This methodology is based on a quantitative content analysis, which is effective because it provides a "systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication" (Riffe et al., 2005, p.25). However, I have identified that alongside quantitative research there also needs to be a level of qualitative analysis, in order to fully "examine ideological mind-sets, themes, topics, symbols, and similar phenomena, while grounding such examinations in data" (Berg, 2001, p.242). This mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis is especially important in the field of political communication, as political messages often exist in symbolism which speaks to the 'collective memories' of communities and thus cannot be easily quantified (Graber, 2004, p.53). Therefore, this research adopts a VideoStyle content analysis to produce quantitative results alongside a qualitative visual analysis which highlights overarching themes in the PEBs.

[8] An outline of which factors in the coding book relates to the three components: "Verbal content included the presence or absence of negative attacks, the issues mentioned, the images and qualities highlighted, and the structure of the appeals made. Nonverbal content included assessing the settings of the ads, identifying who is speaking and who is pictured in the ad, and examining the candidates voice, facial expressions, body movement, gestures, and dress. Production content is included in the ad's format, camera shots and angles, and length." (Bystrom et al., 2004, p.30-31).

3.2 Sampling

In this research I analysed twenty-three Party Election Broadcasts which were broadcasted during the 2017 election campaign. This broke down into twelve PEBs with a male leader and nine PEBs with a female leader, the Green Party had dual-leadership between a female and male leader and therefore they were not counted in my final results. Refer to Appendix 3 for a brief summary of all the PEBs analysed, including details on how I have referenced them in my subsequent findings.

To access the 2017 Party Election Broadcasts I used BoB's televisions archives[9], I then identified all the PEBs broadcasted on BBC and on Channel 4[10]. I chose BBC and Channel 4 as they are the two 'most popular' TV channels in the UK, and they also represent a public service television channel and a commercial television channel (YouGov, 2019). From this, I have analysed at least one PEB from the parties who were allocated them from Ofcom[11]. I excluded instances where parties repeated the same PEB, which accounts for the imbalance of PEBs between major parties (such as the Conservatives only having three PEBs whereas the Liberal Democrats, a smaller party, having five).

Furthermore, I faced some obstacles while conducting this research. Due to restriction on access of Northern Irish television, I was unable to access the Party Election Broadcasts of the major

[9] Available online at Learning on screen (https://login.learningonscreen.ac.uk/services.php) and accessed through the University of Leeds login.
[10] This also includes PEBs that were shown by BBC/Channel 4 exclusively in England, Scotland and/or Wales.
[11] The parties allocated PEB slots were: Conservative Party, Liberal Democrat Party, Labour Party, Scottish Nationalist Party, Green Party, UK Independence Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Plaid Cymru and Sinn Fein (Ofcom, 2017). More details about how they were allocated can be found on Ofcom's website (Ofcom, 2017)

parties in Northern Ireland (Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Fein). Therefore, I obtained their PEBs from their official YouTube accounts where they explicitly stated that the video was their PEB for the 2017 General Election. Additionally, some of the PEBs studied did not include much political content which created some anomalies in the coding; this is true of Scottish Nationalist (06/06/17), and the Liberal Democrat (25/05/17) (see Appendix 3 for summary of the PEBs). However, due to the structure of the VideoStyle coding scheme the 'anomalies' in my sample did not affect the overall trends in my results.

Overall, I feel that my sample size accurately represents the PEBs that each party released during the 2017 General Election in the UK. By cross referencing it across two channels, I found that the majority of PEBs that had been broadcasted on the BBC (with the exception of one) had been reproduced on Channel 4. This indicates that these were most likely the PEBs that were broadcasted on the other television channels (such as ITV and Channel 5). Moreover, due to the structure of the VideoStyle methodology, there is a capacity for future research to process a much larger sample size using the same coding sheet in the future.

3.3 Coding Sheet

The VideoStyle coding sheet used in this method is based off of the one Bystrom used in her most recent research article on VideoStyle in the 2008 election (Bystrom and Brown, 2011). However, I have adapted it to fit a UK political context. I am now going to outline some of the main changes that I made to the coding sheet to make it suitable to study Party Election

Broadcasts rather than American political 'spot' advertisements (my final coding sheet is available in Appendix 2).

Firstly, the 'American' elements of the coding sheet were removed[12], such as who 'sponsors' the ad, the office the candidate is seeking, and the status of the candidate, as they were not applicable to British PEBs. While the main elements of the characteristics and strategies presented in the coding scheme remain the same, I had to significantly change the 'issues' mentioned in the coding sheet. The issues Bystrom identified are based on a US political climate, instead I adopted the ten 'key issues'[13] that the BBC identified during the 2017 General Election into my coding scheme (BBC, 2017a). Additionally, I have added my own new factor into the coding sheet. While conducting this research, I noticed that there were trends in the gender roles visually presented by the 'actors'[14] in PEBs. In order to examine this, I included four new elements into my coding scheme which requires the coder to count the times when female and male actors were performing a 'normative gender role' and a 'opposing gender role' (a comprehensive set of rules on determining a 'normative' and 'opposing' gender roles can be found under the coding sheet in Appendix 2). Adding in this additional element to VideoStyle allowed an elaboration on the visual elements of the PEBs, and grounded my qualitative results with empirical data. This is important because, as previously mentioned, images are often overlooked by political communication scholars as 'too difficult' to code, and yet, they are key to understanding the

[12] This includes minor changes to the type of language used, for example I changed 'ad/commercial' to PEB and 'candidate' to party leader

[13] The BBC also provided a methodology which overviewed how they identified the main policy issues in parties manifesto (BBC, 2017a). The only change I made to this was removing 'Future of the UK' as a section and replacing it with 'Devolution' (as this was a subtheme within the category and it was easier to identify as a specific issue while coding) (BBC, 2017a).

[14] 'Actor' in this research refers to someone who is shown in the PEB as 'neutral', often in the background and not speaking, they are presented as an ordinary citizen (e.g. not a politician or celebrity).

"shared values and culturally resonant themes [...] on which evaluations of public figures often rests" (Gabe and Bucy, 2009, p.87).

3.4 Intercoder reliability

Establishing intercoder reliability[15] is essential for any research which includes a content analysis, as "when it is not established, the data and interpretations of the data can never be considered valid" (Lombard et al., 2002, p.589). I have developed the coding sheet and also coded the PEBs, therefore in order to eliminate 'developer bias' one neutral coder needed to code a sample of my research (Lacy et al., 2015). Therefore, my independent coder coded one PEB at random to establish the functionality of my adapted code sheet, as well as the reliability of my coding. Lacy et al., identify that it is best practice in content analysis to establish two measures of reliability, they recommend simple percentage agreement[16] and Krippendorff's *alpha*[17] as the most accurate reliability coefficients to use in conjunction with each other (2015, p.804).

Following Lacy et al., (2015) criteria, I have established a reliability coefficient of 0.945 under Krippendorff's *alpha*, and a coefficient of 0.974 under percentage agreement across all my coding variables (full equations and step-by-step workings out can be found in Appendix 5). Additionally, I think it is important to note that in the new factors I added to the VideoStyle

[15] Intercoder reliability is defined as "the extent to which independent judges make the same coding decisions in evaluating the characteristics of messages" (Lombard et al., 2002, p.587).
[16] Percent agreement is the simplest form of intercoder reliability, it simply measures "the proportion of agreement of coded units between two independent judges (Roache, 2018, p.753).
[17] Krippendorff's *alpha* is 'a highly attractive' reliability coefficients because it "takes into account chance agreement and, in addition, the magnitude of the misses, adjusting for whether the variable is measured as nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio" (Neuendorf, 2002, p.151; Krippendorff, 2013).

coding sheet there was 100 percent agreement. This not only means that the new variables I added have been successfully understood, but it also suggests that future researchers should be able to incorporate this element into their coding sheets too. It is assumed that in order for research results to be considered valid, a reliability coefficient needs to be above 0.80 (with anything above 0.90 being the ideal) (Graber, 2004; Lacy et al., 2015; Lombard et al., 2002; Neuendorf, 2002). Accordingly, the data from my results can sufficiently be considered valid and reproducible under these academic standards.

3.5 Evaluation of method

The VideoStyle method is the best approach for me to analyse 'gendered political messages' because it incorporates specific masculine and feminine rhetorical characteristics into the coding framework (Bystrom et al., 2004). By addressing the three different elements of political advertising, verbal, nonverbal and production, it also allows for a comprehensive audiovisual analysis. The two problems I found with this methodology was: 1) It was created to analyse American 'spot' advertisements and thus the coding scheme was not applicable to British Party Election Broadcasts. 2) The quantitative analysis on its own did not allow me to fully identify the visual themes across the PEBs studied. However, I have corrected these issues; firstly, by adapting the coding scheme to a British context, and secondly, by adding an element of qualitative analysis to identify any visual trends across the PEBs studied.

Overall, I found that using this methodology allowed me to successfully answer my research questions. As I will discuss in the following section, I was able to comprehensively identify the

common trends between parties in correlation to the gender of their party leader. However, as Kaid and Johnston suggest, “more work needs to be done to compare VideoStyles across countries and across political and cultural contexts” (2001, p.178). I hope that this adaptation of the American-centric VideoStyle to a British political context is a step towards doing so. This methodology has the potential to map changes over different periods of time in political campaigning. Therefore, I would suggest that future researchers consider this methodology when analysing political campaign messages, by doing so they can help to build a database which allows for comparisons between political advertising and gender across different cultures and political landscapes.

4. Findings and Analysis

In applying the VideoStyle methodology to the Party Election Broadcasts from the 2017 UK General Election, I was able to identify trends in parties election strategies which were affected by the gender of their party leader. My findings address my two research questions; **(1)** Do the verbal, nonverbal and production strategies used in Party Election Broadcasts vary depending on the gender of the party leader?, **(2)** By considering their election strategy, is there evidence that female political party leaders face a double bind?. To answer these questions, my results have been split into three sub-themes; **4.1** Compensating for gender: the realities of the double bind for female political leaders, **4.2** The feminisation of election campaigns?: feminine style in Party Election Broadcasts, **4.3** Reproducing gender stereotypes: the importance of visual communication.

My overall findings suggest that the gender of the party leader has considerable effects on the verbal, nonverbal and production elements of their PEB, which is reflective of the parties wider election strategy (a full record of results can be found in Appendix 4). Furthermore, I have found that even when elements of feminine rhetorical style/characteristics are incorporated into mainstream political performance, female leaders still face the problematic double bind. Echoing Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles sentiment that "the most disquieting feature of the "feminine" style is its power to mask the patriarchy of contemporary politics" (1996, p.348), my research suggests that parties with male leaders are more likely to capitalise on the 'feminisation' of political campaign strategies. This is because parties with female leaders appear to be unable to escape the

double bind, in which they have to reinforce masculine values to justify their position to the electorate as a competent party leader. Furthermore, my results reveal that visual communication is used, particularly by parties with female leaders, to reinforce stereotypes around gender roles. I have identified that this is done purposefully by the PEB editorial/production teams in order to visually combat any 'insecurities' the public might have about seeing a woman at the head of a major political party.

4.1 Compensating for gender: the realities of the double bind for female political leaders

In order to be considered a viable political leader and appeal to a mass electorate, it is necessary for politicians to include visual and rhetorical styles which are typically associated with the opposing gender in their political performance (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). However, as previously discussed in the theoretical framework, female political leaders struggle to do this successfully because of the double bind that they face. This bind means that women are expected to show masculine traits to fit into the political norm, and yet are often penalised when they do so for being 'too masculine'; men however do not face this contradictory bind when they present feminine traits (Jamieson, 1995). My results reflect the notion that parties with both male and female leaders adopt a mixed approach to presenting gender traits in their PEBs, and borrow both masculine and feminine characteristics. This is reflective of the 'balancing act', in which both male and females are more likely to associate themselves with traits from the opposing gender, in order to compensate for it not being naturally associated with their sex. For example, parties with

a male leader were more likely to adopt an inductive structure[18] (a feminine rhetorical style) in their PEB, whereas those with a female leader were more likely to adopt a deductive structure (a masculine rhetorical style). As I discuss in detail, parties who have a female leader almost always emphasised themes of experience, strong leadership, and political qualifications (traits typically associated with male politicians (Carlson, 2004)). Additionally, political parties with male leaders were more likely to portray characteristics of sensitivity, trustworthiness, and commonality (traits typically associated with female politicians (Carlson, 2004)). These results, while on a smaller scale and different political context, reflect the majority of VideoStyle findings based on American elections (Bystrom et al., 2004; Bystrom and Brown, 2011; Kaid and Johnston, 2001; Bystrom, 1995). The correlation of our results reflect the universality of this trend in political campaigning, which has been normalised across Western political culture. Furthermore, throughout this discussion, I highlight that the parties with female leaders often have to work harder to present 'masculine traits', then male leader would to present 'feminine traits'. This is because masculine traits are typically associated with leadership, and therefore the most important characteristics for a political party leader to possess are 'naturally assumed' to be possessed by men (Kahn, 1996). In this sense, when male leaders present feminine traits it could be seen as a 'bonus' to their leadership style, whereas, it is a necessity for female candidates to present these male traits, otherwise they will not be considered a legitimate leader.

An important component of a parties VideoStyle is the verbal characteristics that they present, as it should epitomise the sort of traits they want their party and, by extension, their party leader to

[18] Inductive style refers to the dominant PEB structure as examples first then conclusions (feminine), and deductive style refers to a dominant structure which is conclusions then examples (masculine): The definitions of inductive and deductive structure, and their correlation to male or female rhetorical style is justified by Bystrom (2011), by referring to Campbell's (1989) seminal work.

be associated with. In the Party Election Broadcasts during the 2017 Election, there is a clear trend towards political parties with female leaders representing 'masculine characteristics[19]' more than the male leaders, as represented below in Table 1.

Masculine Verbal Characteristics presented in the PEB	% of PEBs it occurred in with male leader	% of PEBs it occurred in with female leader
Toughness/Strength	66.67	88.89
Past Performance	33.33	55.56
Aggressive/Fighter	83.33	88.89
Competency	58.33	66.67
Strong Leadership	41.67	66.67
Experience in Politics	16.67	88.89
Qualified	25.00	88.89
Action Oriented	91.67	88.89

Table 1. 'Masculine' verbal characteristics present in the Party Election Broadcasts.

One of the biggest contrasts in my results is PEBs showing 'experience in politics', where parties with female leaders were five times more likely to highlight this quality than those with male

[19] 'Masculine characteristics' specifically identified in the coding scheme (see Appendix 2) were decided in line with Bystrom's (2011) own identification in her VideoStyle coding scheme which is supported by literature.

leaders. Furthermore, eight out of the nine Party Election Broadcasts with female leaders studied presented most of these male characteristics[20]. This theme continues on to the dominant type of verbal appeal each PEB made, with parties who have female leaders twice as likely to stress their credibility and political qualification. These results speak significantly to the concept of the double bind, as it shows that by having a female leader, parties are having to invest a significant amount of time justifying their leadership and qualifications in election strategies. Suggesting, that in forming their election strategies, parties with female leaders were aware that these traits are not naturally assumed to be possessed by female leaders, as Jamieson comments, "male is the norm, his competence is assumed and we rarely question his expressive capabilities" (1995, p.125). This has significant implications, because it is the masculine traits which are most 'valued' in politics, and if women are not automatically associated with them then it creates a fundamental 'gender-based disadvantage' as they struggle to balance their femininity with leadership norms during election campaigns (Panagopoulos, 2004, p.132).

As a result of this, women are often 'professionalised' visually through the production and nonverbal elements of the PEBs. Male leaders were more likely to be shown to deliver their message in a relaxed conversational form (not looking directly at the camera and using hand gestures), as shown in figure 1 and 2. Whereas female leaders were shown to be more direct and formal (speaking directly to the camera and not using hand gestures), as highlighted by figure 3 and 4.

[20] This statistic is even more persuasive when considering that the one PEB that didn't include these masculine features can be explained as an anomaly due to the style of it and lack of talking or political content (See Appendix 3, Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17).

Figure 1. Liberal Democrat, 16/05/17, 02:03

Figure 2. Labour, 15/05/17, 00:35

Figure 3. Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17, 00:58

Figure 4. Conservative, 31/05/17, 00:08

The reason for these visual representations could again rely on the party leaders gender. As suggested, female leaders are expected to show their 'seriousness' and understanding of political etiquette (experience) in order to be accepted as a viable candidate for Prime Minister. On the other hand, men are free to portray themselves in a more casual setting to suggest their 'commonality', this could also be done to challenge the image of the 'male, white, elitist' political system (Herrnson et al., 2003).

While parties with female leaders are more likely to portray masculine characteristics, my results also suggest that the same is true vice versa. This attributes to the idea that to appeal to the mass electorate, male leaders must balance their masculinity to emphasise characteristics they feel the female electorate, in particular, will resonate with (Huddy and Terkildsen, p.120). In Table 2, my results show that parties with male leaders were much more likely to verbally stress 'feminine characteristics'[21].

Feminine Verbal Characteristics presented in the PEB	% of PEBs it occurred in with male leader	% of PEBs it occurred in with female leader

[21] 'Feminine characteristics' specifically identified in the coding scheme (See Appendix 2) were decided in line with Bystrom's (2011) own identification in her VideoStyle coding scheme which is supported by literature.

Honesty/Integrity	91.67	55.56
Sensitive/Understanding	66.67	44.44
Trustworthy	75.00	55.56
Commonality	91.67	66.67

Table 2. 'Feminine' verbal characteristics present in the Party Election Broadcast.

These results are also reflected in the verbal strategies that parties with male leaders use, as they were more likely to talk about their optimism for the future, invite audience participation, personal experience, address viewers as peers, and call for changes. All of which are directly categorised as elements of female rhetorical strategy by Campbell (1989). Moreover, in terms of the dominant type of verbal appeals used in the PEBs, those with male leaders were three times more likely to discuss their personal experience; this relates again to the theory that male leaders want to appear more 'of the people', to combat the stereotype that politics is an 'old boys club' who are disconnected from ordinary people (Carlson, 2004). Clearly, both genders of party leader have to emphasise traits associated with the opposite sex in order to appeal to everyone in the electorate, and be both masculine in their strong leadership and feminine in their compassion for 'the people'. However, male leaders are able to 'flit' between these gender norms with relative ease compared to females, as they are not starting from an already disadvantaged position (Jamieson, 1990, p.80). Jamieson suggests that this is an important factor in understanding the difficulties that female political leaders face in elections as they cannot evoke opposing gender traits in the same way that male leaders can (1990, p.87):

> *But only a person whose credibility is firm can risk adopting a style traditionally considered weak. So a male candidate whose credibility is in part a function of presumptions made about those of his sex is more likely to succeed in the "womanly" style than [...] [a] female candidate.*

Therefore, while this research shows that parties with male and female leaders tend to overemphasise traits associated with the opposite gender, this does not diminish the double bind that faces women as they are not able to even capitalise on the strengths that are naturally associated with their gender. The main results of this research also suggests that parties with female candidates are far more likely to stress their political qualification and experience; this is crucial because it suggests that parties have built their election strategy around the assumption that the electorate will naturally question the legitimacy of a political party with a female leader. This recognition that female politicians are naturally disadvantaged by stereotypical assumptions, especially in the 2017 General Election where there was a large number of female leaders present, is symptomatic of the existence of the double bind in modern British politics. As I discuss in the next section of my findings, while a female rhetorical style may be dominant within the PEBs studied, this alone does not necessarily indicate that political campaign strategies have been 'feminised'.

4.2 The feminisation[22] of election campaigns?: feminine style in Party Election Broadcasts

Politics has traditionally been defined as a masculine activity, with women being historically excluded from the political sphere (Campbell, 1989, p.10). Yet, developments over time in politics have lead to suggestions that a feminine style of political performance is becoming dominant in contemporary politics (Jamieson, 1990). However, I would contest that even if there has been a process of feminisation, this does not necessarily mean that women will be able to benefit from this trend. Therefore, it is important to consider Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles warning that "celebrating the "feminine" style of political discourse and its potential for political change [...] is hasty and misreads existing political communication" (1996, p.338). On the other hand, Jamieson argues that the introduction of television as a medium for campaigning has lead the 'feminine style' becoming 'the style of preference', this is because it "invites a personal, self-disclosing style that draws public discourse out of a private self" (1990, p.84). By viewing my results from this angle, it is clear to see how a number of female rhetorical styles have been incorporated into popular political campaign strategy. In particular, how the results of the Party Election Broadcasts studied relate to Campbell's (1989, p.13) characteristics of what constitutes a feminine style of political rhetoric. As shown in Table 3, these characteristics identified by Campbell are among the most popular verbal strategies used by both parties in their PEBs. Interestingly, parties with male party leaders were more likely to use the majority of these female rhetorical strategies.

[22] I am citing Campbell and Childs definition of feminisation as increasing the visible representation of women in politics, as well as the "the inclusion and integration' of women's ideas" (2015, p.158). However, I would add that within the context of VideoStyle, when referring to feminisation I am also discussing the incorporation of 'feminine' traits and rhetorical style into politicians political performances.

Feminine rhetorical strategies presented in the PEB	% of PEBs it occurred in with male leader	% of PEBs it occurred in with female leader
Addressing audience as peers	83.33	77.78
Calling for changes	91.67	77.78
Use of personal tone	25.00	33.33
Inviting audience participation	91.67	88.89
Optimism/hope for the future	100.00	88.89
Personal experience	58.33	22.22
Experience of audience	91.67	77.78
Structured indicatively	58.33	22.22

Table 3. 'Feminine' verbal rhetorical strategies present in the Party Election Broadcast, based off of Campbell's (1989) analysis.

Furthermore, my results revealed that all of the PEBs studied contained emotional appeals to the audience, which is typically associated with a feminine rhetorical style (Jamieson, 1990, p.73). The popularity of emotive appeals is ironic when considering that it was the assumption that female rhetoric would be based on emotions, rather than on logic, that was originally given as a

reason for female public speakers being considered 'defective' (Jamieson, 1990, p.76). There has clearly been a shift here, in which a feminine style of speaking is considered to be beneficial for a party to incorporate into their election strategy. Following from this, female leaders were also more likely to be shown in the PEBs and speak for a longer amount of time (see Table 4).

Party leader speaking in the PEB	% of PEBs it occurred in with male leader	% of PEBs it occurred in with female leader
Whole of PEB	16.67	33.33
Some of PEB	16.67	11.11
End of PEB	25.00	44.44
Not shown/speaking	33.33	11.11

Table 4. Party leader speaking in the PEB.

This reflects consistent results across other VideoStyle research, such as that conducted by Bystrom et al. (2004) and Bystrom (1995), in which female candidates are likely to be featured more prominently than male candidates. Kahn argues that this trend exists because "women candidates are perceived as more honest than male candidates [...] [and] trustworthy spokespeople are clearly more persuasive" (1996, p.131). This is evidenced in my research by both the Labour Party (Labour, 09/05/17) and Sinn Fein (Sinn Fein, 09/05/17) using recognisable female figures to talk in their PEB instead of their male leader (refer to Figure 5 and 6).

Figure 5. Maxine Peake[23]: Labour, 09/05/17

Figure 6. Michelle O'Neill[24]: Sinn Fein, 09/05/17

Thus, it could be interpreted that my results support the idea that election campaign strategists have identified the benefits of incorporating a female rhetorical style (both visually and verbally). Additionally, Bystrom identifies that this trend is common when there is the presence of serious female contenders as it forces their male opponents to present 'stereotypically "feminine" attributes' (2004, p.440). This could be applied to the context of the 2017 election, as while women in general are still underrepresented in British politics[25], there was more leading

[23] Maxine Peake is a English actress from greater Manchester, she is recognised for her involvement in politics and activism for working-class northern families and women in particular.
[24] Michelle O'Neill is a senior member of Sinn Fein, she is the leader of Sinn Fein in the Northern Ireland Assembly, however their overall party leader in 2017 was Gerry Adams.
[25] The number of female candidates nominated in 2017 was at 29% (a slight increase from 26% in 2015) (Harmer and Southern, 2018, p.247). Female candidates elected in 2017 reached 32% (a slight increase from 20% in 2015) (Harmer and Southern, 2018, p.248).

female figures than any previous election (Harmer and Southern 2018, p.237). Therefore, it could explain why 'feminine' policy/issues (such as health and care, education and family, and welfare and pensions) were among the most popular to be mentioned in the PEBs (see Appendix 4).

However, as demonstrated earlier in Table 3, parties with male leaders are actually more likely to adopt 'feminine' characteristics into their PEBs. Additionally, while women are more likely to be shown and to be talking in the PEBs, in almost every case they are less likely to actually adhere to characteristics and strategies that are typically associated with their gender. This poses a significant obstacle to the idea that the politicians political performance is becoming feminised, as it would appear that women have not been able to advantage from this. This is because female leaders often spend most of their campaigns proving their credibility, leaving them little opportunity to present a 'womanly' style of political performance; male leaders on the other hand, usually have their credibility assumed and therefore can "risk adopting a style traditionally considered weak" (Jamieson, 1990, p.87). Championing this view is Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, who suggest that most campaigns exhibit a feminine style, yet, the actual substance of politics has not deviated from the masculine norms, and therefore female leaders are still disadvantaged (1996, p.350):

> *While female candidates may be able to appropriate a "feminine" style, the actual construction of candidate image [...] still depends heavily on traditionally "masculine" myths, icons, and character traits derived from participation in male-based institutions. This double bind [...] may pose constraints for future politically-motivated women as well.*

My research also echoes this sentiment, as while there is an acceptance of feminine characteristics and structure in legitimate political performances—men are more likely to be able to exploit this (refer to Table 4). The reasoning for this could be explained by the existence of the double bind, as women are constantly having to use campaign messages to justify their position in politics. Thus, for example, if they were to emphasise their feminine characteristics of sensitivity, it would contradict masculine characteristics of strong leadership (which is seen as a more electoral valuable trait). This has been previously discussed in Table 1, where parties with female leaders highlighted their political experience and strong leadership more than those with male leaders. So while there is evidence that parities in the 2017 election represent a wider trend of feminisation in political campaigning, it was still mainly parties with male leaders who incorporated this into their PEBs. Consequently, the extent to which it could be considered that there has been a process of feminisation in acceptable election strategies is still overshadowed by the fact that, due to the double bind, male leaders are more likely to benefit from this than female leaders.

4.3 Reproducing gender stereotypes: the importance of visual communication

Grabe and Bucy identify that "images are the lingua franca of politics, yet they remain among the least scrutinised and least understood aspects of political [advertising]" (2009, p.74). This research has aimed to address this problem with political communication research, by analysing the non-verbal and production elements of the Party Election Broadcasts, in addition to the verbal. As a consequence, the way in which gender is visualised in the PEB has become a key element of my findings. As stated in my methodology, I have added a new factor to the coding

scheme which looks at the 'normative' or 'opposing' gender roles[26] acted by the actors in the PEBs. My main finding from this is that the actors are often shown in 'normative' gender roles, this is especially true of male actors in PEBs with female party leaders (refer to Table 5).

Male actor gender role	Number of times it occurred in male leaders PEB's	Number of times it occurred in female leaders PEB's
Normative	10	38
Opposing	2	2

Table 5. Number of times male actors exhibited specific gender stereotyped roles across the PEBs.

Female actor gender role	Number of times it occurred in male leaders PEB's	Number of times it occurred in female leaders PEB's
Normative	6	17
Opposing	5	7

Table 6. Number of times female actors exhibited specific gender stereotyped roles across the PEBs.

As Table 5 and 6 show, the actors in the PEBs were predominantly presented to be acting in a position that is normative to their gender, and male actors were rarely ever shown in an opposing gender role. Evidently, there is also a higher proportion of men and women being shown in normative roles in the PEBs which have female party leaders. As I discuss, the use of normative

[26] See appendix 2 for a 'rule' guideline on how to differentiate between a 'normative' and 'opposing' gender roles.

gender roles could be viewed as a way to neutralise the 'unconventional' positioning of a woman as a political party leader in British politics. Therefore, the actors are used to strategically reinforce stereotypes about the gendered roles in British society and present the female leader as an 'exception'. As Dyer suggests, stereotypes are reproduced in the media to "map out the boundaries of acceptable and legitimate behaviour" (2002, p.16). One of the most striking examples of this, is the Scottish Nationalist Party's PEB[27] which only featured a montage of different children playing over inspirational instrumental music (Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17). Interestingly, the children were shown as acting in specifically gendered roles. The girls were often shown replicating gender specific things their mother would do, and were almost exclusively shown in domestic environments (refer to Figure 7 – 11).

Figure 7. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 00:07

[27] This Party Election Broadcast was unusual because it contained very little speaking, with only a couple lines said at the end asking 'what kind of country' the electorate wanted for their children (Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 02:20-02:30).

Figure 8. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 00:17

Figure 9. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 01:06

Figure 10. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 01:15

Figure 11. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 02:08

In Figure 8, 10, and 11, the girls are shown to be trying on and using her mother's accessories, which are explicitly feminine items such as a handbag, heels, and an array of flowery and pink hats. Additionally, Figure 9 depicts a little girl applying makeup which is something that is specifically associated with females and considered a ‘grown up’ activity. Lastly, Figure 7 shows a girl playing with cooking utensils in the domestic setting of her kitchen, all of these images can

be juxtaposed by the images of the little boys in the PEB who are shown to be actively playing outside (refer to Figure 12 -14).

Figure 12. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 01:19

Figure 13. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 01:40

Figure 14. Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17, 02:15

The boys are often shown playing boisterously in public spaces, for example in Figure 14 the boy is playing with a dinosaur and is shown to be roaring, this can be contrasted with Figure 11 (shown just before it) where a little girl is trying on her mothers hats. Furthermore, Figure 12 shows a boy jumping in a dirty puddle and Figure 13 shows a boy running around outside in a

superhero cape— both of these activities are stereotypically associated with a 'boys will be boys' mentality of outdoor behaviour (McDowell, 2003). The visual reproduction of stereotypes reinforces the status quo of acceptable behaviour and thus are crucial to our understanding of gender roles, as Lippmann suggests (1992, p.96).

> *A pattern of stereotypes is not neutral. [...] it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore highly charged with the feelings attached to them.*

Therefore, the images that the Scottish Nationalist Party (and by extension Nicola Sturgeon, their party leader) are projecting in this video emulate a gendered view of society, with the children ascribing to roles which are traditionally associated with their sex. As I have identified, this is common in the visual VideoStyle of parties with female leaders and there are a number of themes that have recurred across the 2017 Party Election Broadcasts. For example, as Figures 15 - 22 illustrate, men are shown in positions of manual labour which is typically associated with the working-class. McDowell highlights how manual labour and the working-class are often paired together in the media to represent 'idealized' masculinity (2003, p.2). This includes themes of the iconic luminous 'yellow vest' of the working-class profession and protective work-wear such as goggles, all of which suggest the men are doing a dangerous job, which is work assumed to be unsuitable for females. Therefore, by showing manual male dominated jobs, there is 'the sex-typing of the occupations' which intrinsically imply an exclusion of women in the workplace (Nixon, 2009, p.3).

Figure 15, Conservative, 06/06/17, 01:05

(repeated in Conservative 31/5/17, 00:46)

Figure 16, Conservative, 06/06/17, 01:33

Figure 17, Plaid Cymru, 02/06/17, 01:24

Figure 18, Conservative, 06/06/17, 01:11

Figure 19, Plaid Cymru, 02/06/17, 03:46

Figure 20, Conservative, 06/06/17, 00:46

Figure 21, Scottish Nationalist, 16/05/17, 01:59

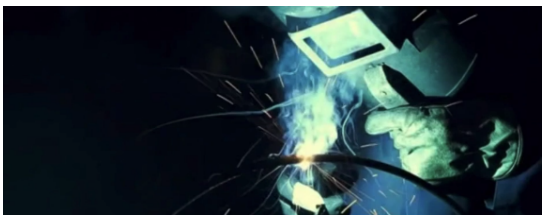

Figure 22, Plaid Cymru, 02/06/17, 01:26

Moreover, another theme I have identified within the PEBs is the repetition of showing males playing football— this is interesting because this sport is specifically associated with masculinity as a favourite male pastime to watch and partake in (King, 1997). This image was included in the PEBs by the Conservatives, Scottish Nationalist, and Plaid Cymru, all of which have female party leaders (See Figure 23 - 26). King suggests that playing and watching football is often used by the media to signify hegemonic masculinity, which is also related to working-class culture (1997, p.332).

Figure 23, Conservative, 06/06/17, 00:19

Figure 24, Conservative, 06/06/17, 01:23

(repeated in Conservative 31/5/17, 00:56)

Figure 25, Scottish Nationalist, 16/05/17, 01:38

Figure 26, Plaid Cymru, 02/06/17, 04:03

The reason why these particular visual symbols are important to my research is because they refer to activities and work environments where women are typically excluded. As with political television advertisements "every visual element is carefully managed" (Schill, 2012, p.121), it can be assumed that the placing of these images were deliberate and specifically chosen for a purpose. Therefore, it is of significance that it is parties with female leaders that are choosing to include images of hegemonic masculinity in their PEBs. This relates to findings by Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, who identify "the irony of contemporary image construction is that candidates are utilizing a 'feminine' style to promote hegemonically 'masculine' images" (1996, p.350).

In addition to this, PEBs with female leaders were more likely to show visuals of children and the elderly (refer to Table 7), which reinforces their assumed link to these demographics as mothers and caregivers (Carlson, 2001, p.136).

Other actors pictured	% of PEB's it occurred in with male leader	% of PEB's it occurred in with female leader

Children	33.33	77.78
Elderly	8.33	77.78

Table 7. Other actors visualised in the PEB.

In some ways, this speaks to female leaders attempts to capitalise on their intrinsic association with qualities of compassion and imply their competence in welfare and education policy (Herrnson et al., 2003, p.245). These stereotypes can therefore work in women's favour and both the Conservatives and the Scottish Nationalist Party reproduced images of a maternal figure leading a child (see figure 27 and 28).

Figure 27, Conservative, 06/06/17, 01:39

(repeated in Conservative 31/5/17, 01:06)

Figure 28, Scottish Nationalist, 16/05/17, 02:31

Kahn suggests that in order to gain voters 'approval', women candidates often reinforce 'sexist' stereotypes which meet the voters expectations (1996, p.11). This could perhaps be best

analogised by the setting/background changes in the Democratic Unionist Party's (DUP) PEBs (Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17; Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17). The DUP were more likely to show Arlene Foster (their party leader) in the domestic setting of her home and schools (refer to Figures 29 - 32).

Figure 29, Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17, 00:52

Figure 30, Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17, 02:28

Figure 31, Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17, 00:48

Figure 32, Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17, 01:36

This is compared to other senior male MPs who were pictured outside and canvassing (refer to Figures 33 - 36). This subtly implies an adherence to the stereotypes that women are associated with the house (domestic sphere), whereas the men are associated with the outside (public sphere). So while, having a female leader might challenge these stereotypes, they are still being reinforced by the way that the Democratic Unionist Party visualise her in their PEBs. They also make it clear that her senior MPs are male, and do not show any other senior female politicians.

Figure 33, Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17, 01:57

Figure 34, Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17, 00:14

Figure 35, Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17, 00:34

Figure 36, Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17, 00:55

This example reflects the findings of the Scottish Nationalist PEB (06/06/17), in which the boys were often shown outside playing and the girls were shown inside and playing with domestic objects (refer to Figures 7 - 14). This research is mirrored by that of Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles who found that in American political advertisements, "women are portrayed in the films firmly within their familial, patriarchally-determined roles" (1996, p.343). Furthermore, they compellingly suggest the incorporation of feminine characteristics into the rhetorical style of election campaigns acts to "masks the stereotyped roles of women as wives and mothers" (Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996, p.348). This could be applied to the overall findings of my research that visually females and males are presented in stereotypical roles. Furthermore, I would contest that this is more prevalent in PEBs with female leaders in order to account for the 'insecurities'

the public might feel about having a female political leader, rather than a male. It also helps to reinforce the notion that having a female leader is unique and will not have an overall effect on the current 'status quo' of normative gender roles in society. Comparisons here can be drawn to Nunn's (2002) work on Thatcher, in which she was presented as an 'exceptional women' and 'different' to the majority of other women. This trend of presenting female leadership as an 'exception' is not only a clear indicator of the double bind that women still face in British politics, but it is also reveals the deep-rooted relationship between political expectations and patriarchal norms.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has examined the existence of the double bind facing female political party leaders in British politics by analysing the Party Election Broadcasts from the 2017 UK General Election. By doing so, this research has drawn upon wider themes of masculinity and femininity in political performances; Goffman suggests that "when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society" (1959, p.45). Following on from this theory of self-presentation, I have sought to argue that the dominant 'values' in politics, especially when regarding leadership, remain associated with traits of masculinity. Men are therefore seen as the 'dominant prototype' of political leadership, creating an inherent disadvantage for women when they are trying to present themselves as leaders during electoral campaigns (Jones, 2016, p.636). From this advantage, male leaders also have more freedom to transgress into a political style associated with feminine characteristics, as when they do so their competence is not questioned. As I have suggested, this is not the case for female leaders, who have to exhibit masculine characteristics to show their strength of leadership— but when they do so are accused of being unfeminine. Under this competence/femininity double bind, "women are penalized for both deviating from the masculine norm and for appearing to be masculine" (Jamieson, 1995, p.18).

Through my VideoStyle results and visual analysis, I have revealed that the tensions between masculinity and femininity are still rife in British politics. The visual stereotyping of the actors in the PEBs exemplifies this, especially considering that it was the parties with female leaders who were frequently representing the normative gender roles. By reinforcing gender positions, the

parties were compensating for the 'insecurities' they felt that the electorate might have about a female leader, so visually presented her as an 'exception' to the status quo. Commenting on the complexity of political performance in Britain, Lovenduski rightfully worries "women are required to perform a balancing of masculinity and femininity that is so finely tuned it is a wonder that elected women continue to show up in the House of Commons" (2005, p.149-150). Here, Lovenduski (2005) highlights why it is so important to try and understand the intricate performance expected of female leaders. As I have evidenced throughout this thesis, the double bind that female leaders face is not an isolated instance, but has been historically reinforced since women's entry to the public sphere, and is still prevalent in politics across different cultures (Campbell, 1989 Jamieson, 1995; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Bystrom et al., 2004; Kahn, 1996.). Currently, the double bind remains in British Politics, and it is legitimised by parties with both male and female leaders. Throughout this research I have shown that in the 2017 General Election parties formulated campaign strategies around the assumptions that women's competence as a leader will always be questioned. Therefore, this research has much wider implications on the roles of masculinity and femininity in political performance. While this dissertation has not necessarily painted an optimistic picture for the future of female leaders, alongside Jamieson, I would emphasise that "the double bind is durable, but not indestructible. Examined as rhetorical frames, double binds can be understood, manipulated, dismantled." (1995, p.20). Consequently, through this research, I hope to have played a part— no matter how small— in dismantling the binds that tie female political leaders.

5.1 Limitations and future recommendations

Firstly, this research faced some limitations due the 'Americanism' of the relevant literature and VideoStyle methodology used throughout this study. Due to the absence of academics examining gender characteristics in British politics, much of the research for this thesis had to be adapted to a UK political context and thus is not as compatible to this specific research topic. It also has implications on claims about different VideoStyle results, as although there were similarities from the American research, there was no explicit study on British politics that I could compare my results to, which limited the analysis on my findings. Secondly, the qualitative visual analysis could be seen as a limitation because, although grounded by quantitative data, the images were specifically selected to illustrate a point and could be interpreted as speculative. Lastly, another limitation of this research was the sample size. Due to the nature of Party Election Broadcasts, they are often repeated across multiple channels—meaning that there was only twenty-three PEBs to study. This conceivably leads to inflated results as, for example, when discussing PEB with female leaders, if eight of the PEB displayed characteristics it would result in 88.89%. If resources and time allowed a larger amount of content could have been studied, as this would provide more evidence regarding wider trends in the VideoStyle of in political advertisements.

However, as previously suggested, a VideoStyle analysis is built for a longitudinal analysis across different elections. This means that future researchers could use this methodology to examine large quantities of political advertising, perhaps from different elections and/or countries, to map trends of gender in political performance over periods of time. I would encourage researchers to not only look at PEBs, but Party Political Broadcasts in Britain over a

number of years to collate more data on this subject. Furthermore, it would be interesting to look at this subject across different countries, as it would allow future researches to see how different cultures affect the incorporation of masculinity and femininity into political campaigns. As Jamieson states, by understanding how the double bind functions over periods of time and across different cultures, academics will be able to make "an indispensable move in vanquishing the vestiges of the binds that tie" (1995, p.190). Therefore, it is imperative for future researchers to continue to examine the double bind facing female leaders, especially in the realm of politics.

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6.1 List of tables and figures

Tables

Figures

Appendix 2) Coding sheet

Party Election Broadcast VideoStyle: Coding Sheet (2019).

1.	CODER ID		1.
2.	P.E.B ID		2.
3.	Channel broadcasted on		3.
4.	Date of broadcast		4.
5.	Name of Party Leader		5.
6.	Political Party	(1) Conservative (2) Labour (3) Scottish Nationalist Party (4) Liberal Democrats (5) Green Party (6) UK Independence Party (7) Plaid Cymru (8) Democratic Unionist Party (9) Sinn Fein	6.
7.	Sex of Party Leader	(1) Female (2) Male (3) Dual Leadership	7.
8.	Length of PEB	(1) 02:40 minutes (2) 03:40 minutes (3) 04:40 minutes	8.
9	Is the PEB leader, Party or opponent focused?	(1) Leader-positive focused (2) Opponent-negative focused (3) Party-positive focused (4) Opposing Party/s-negative (5) A combination (6) Cannot determine	9.
10.	Is there a negative attack made in the PEB?	(1) Yes (2) No	10.
11.	If a negative attack made on the opposition, what is the purpose or nature of the attack? (Code 1 if present, 0 if not	(1) Attack on personal characteristics of Party leader/s	11(1).
		(2) Attack of issue stands/consistency of Party leader/s	11(2)
		(3) Attack on Party leader/s	11(3)

	present)	background/qualifications	
		(4) Attack on Party leader/s past performance in office	11(4)
		(5) Attack on the whole political party	11(5)
12.	Who is pictured in the PEB?	(1) No one (2) Party leader only (3) Party leader and other people (4) Opposing Party leader/s only (5) Opposing Party leader/s and other people (6) Party leader, Opposing Party leader/s, and other people (7) People other than the Party leader/opposing Party leader/s	12.
13.	If Party leader is shown or speaking, for how long are they?	(1) For the whole/most of the PEB (2) some of the PEB (3) At the end of the PEB (4) Party leader not shown	13.
14.	If people *other than the Party leader/opposing Party leader/s* are pictured in the ad, are they: Code 1 if present, 0 if absent	(1) Men	14(1)
		(2) Women	14(2)
		(3) Children	14(3)
		(4) Elderly	14(4)
		(5) Ethnic/racial minorities	14(5)
		(6) Other senior politicians of the Party	14(6)
		(7) Others (specify)	14(7)
15.	Who is the dominant speaker(s)?	(1) Party leader (2) Other Party MP/s (3) Anonymous announcer/s (4) Non-politician celebrity (5) Citizen/Constituent/s (6) Spouse/Family member (7) Combination (specify) (8) No one speaks (9) Other Specify	15.
16.	What is the gender of the dominant speaker(s):	(1) Male (2) Female (3) Cannot determine	16.
17.	Does the Party leader have eye contact directly with the viewer?	(1) Never (2) Sometimes (3) Almost always (4) Always	17.

		(5) Party leader not present	
18.	What is the Party leaders dominant expression?	(1) Smiling (2) Attentive/Serious (3) Frowning/Glaring (4) Not applicable/Party leader not present (5) Other (specify)	18.
19.	Does the Party leader use hand gestures?	(1) Never (2) Sometimes (3) Frequently (4) Not applicable/Party leader not present	19.
20	What is the Party leaders dominant dress?	(1) Formal/Professional wear (2) Casual/Non-work wear (3) Not applicable/Party leader not present	20.
21.	What is the dominant sound characteristic?	(1) Party leader live (2) Other person live (3) Voice over (by Party leader or surrogate) (4) Clips from previous speech/s (5) Not applicable/no candidate present	21.
22.	What is the emphasis of the PEB primarily on?	(1) Campaign issues/policy ideas (2) Party leader image (3) Political Party image (4) Other (specify)	22.
23.	What types of appeals are used in the PEB? (Code 1 if present, 0 if absent)	(1) Logical appeals (use of evidence)	23(1)
		(2) Emotional appeals (to invoke feelings)	23(2)
		(3) Source credibility (political qualification)	23(3)
		(4) Personal experiences (based off of lived experiences)	23(4)
24.	Are fear appeals used in the PEB?	(1) Yes (2) No	24.
25.	What is the dominant structure of appeals in the PEB?	(1) Inductive (examples then conclusions) (2) Deductive (conclusions then examples) (3) Cannot determine	25.

26.	What is the content of the appeal/s used? (pick only one of 2, 3 or 4.) (Code 1 if present, 0 if absent)	(1) Emphasis on political party ideology	26(1)
		(2) Issue-related appeal (Party leader issue concern)	26(2)
		(3) Issue-related appeal (Vague Party policy preference)	26(3)
		(4) Issue-relate appeal (Specific Party policy proposals)	26(4)
		(5) Personal characteristics of Party leader	26(5)
		(6) Linking Party leader with certain demographic groups	26(6)
27.	What issues/policy, if any, are mentioned/discussed? (Code 1 if present, 0 if absent)	(1) Health and Care	27(1)
		(2) Brexit	27(2)
		(3) Immigration	27(3)
		(4) Economy and Taxes	27(4)
		(5) Education and Family	27(5)
		(6) Housing	27(6)
		(7) Welfare and Pensions	27(7)
		(8) Foreign policy and Defence	27(8)
		(9) Transport and Environment	27(9)
		(10) If other please specify	27(10)
28	Total number of issues/policy areas discussed in PEB?	(1) 1 - 2 (2) 3 - 4 (3) 5 -7 (4) more than 8	28.
29.	Which strategies are present in the PEB? (Code 1 if present, 0 if absent)	(1) Use of personal tone (“I”)	29(1)
		(2) Addressing viewers as peers, inclusive pronouns (“we”)	29(2)
		(3) Calling for changes	29(3)
		(4) Inviting audience participation or action	29(4)
		(5) Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future	29(5)

		(6) Yearning for the past	29(6)
		(7) Reinforcing/promoting traditional values	29(7)
		(8) Use of personal experience / anecdotes to support positions/leadership	29(8)
		(9) Use of statistics to support positions/leadership	29(9)
		(10) Use of expert authorities to support positions/leadership	29(10)
		(11) Identifying with the experiences of others	29(11)
		(12) Emphasizing own accomplishments	29(12)
		(13) Attacking opposing Party/Party leader/s	29(13)
		(14) Attack on opposing Party leader/s personal qualities	29(14)
		(15) Attack on opposing Party leader/s policy/issue stands	29(15)
		(16) Personal comparison between Party leader/s qualities/policies	29(16)
		(17) General comparison between Party policies	29(17)
		(18) Use of impersonal examples (historical or hypothetical - not connected to audiences)	29(18)
		(19) Gender equality	29(19)
		(20) Other strategy used (specify)	29(20)
30.	What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the PEB? (Code 1 if present, 0 if Absent)	(1) Honesty/Integrity	30(1)
		(2) Toughness/Strength	30(2)
		(3) Past performance	30(3)
		(4) Aggressive/fighter	30(4)

		(5) Cooperation with others	30(5)
		(6) Competency	30(6)
		(7) Strong leadership	30(7)
		(8) Experience in politics	30(8)
		(9) Westminster outsider	30(9)
		(10) Sensitive/Understanding/ Compassion	30(10)
		(11) Knowledgeable/Intelligent	30(11)
		(12) Qualified	30(12)
		(13) Action orientated	30(13)
		(14) Trustworthy	30(14)
		(15) Of the people (commonality)	30(15)
		(16) Other qualities (specify)	30(16)
31.	Female actor: gender performance (count how many times present)	(1) Normative gender role	31(1)
		(2) Opposing gender role	31(2)
32	Male actor: gender performance (count how many times present)	(1) Normative gender role	32(1)
		(2) Opposing gender role	32(2)

RULES for 31 and 32:

- "Actor" refers to someone who is shown in the PEB as 'neutral', and presented as an ordinary citizen (e.g. not a politician or celebrity).
- "Normative gender role" = they are shown exhibiting behaviour which is usually associated with their gender and stereotypes surrounding this (see below for more detail)

- "Opposing gender role" = they are shown exhibiting behaviour which is usually associated with the opposite gender to them (see below for more detail)
- Only code people who are performing a particular task e.g. their job, playing football, teaching etc.
- Do not code everyone individually in a crowd, identify a main protagonist. If there is not one then do not code.
- Only code when there is a specific gender role being portrayed e.g. do not code men and women who are performing a neutral task e.g. standing, drawing, listening to music

Examples of 'gender roles'.

- Normative male gender role, examples: Outside, with nature setting; manual laborer jobs; shown in professional/work environment, dominant in work profession- e.g. boss, expert, doctor; kids playing with masculine toys- often more aggressive/playful.
- Normative female gender role, examples: Domestic setting; caregiver/teacher role; mother; submissive work position e.g. assistant, nurse, teacher; kids playing with domestic home objects.
- Ask is it something that might be unusual or untypical for the other to be shown to be doing:
  E.g. Children playing outside = a neutral activity
  Child playing with cooking utensils = a 'normative' female activity
  Child playing with a football = a 'normative' male activity

Appendix 3) Party Election Broadcast Summary - 2017 UK General Election

Citation note - The in-text reference style of the Party Election Broadcast will be the name of the Party followed by the date of the broadcast. For example, if the full reference is *Conservative Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1. 6 June, 18:30. 00:26:27-00:29:19., as shown in the bibliography and below, then the in-text citation will be (Conservative, 06/06/17). If there is reference to a particular time frame or moment in the video then this will follow the date in the in-text citation, for example (Conservative, 06/06/17, 00:50-00:55).

Reference	Summary
Conservative, 06/06/17 *Conservative Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 6 June, 18:30. 00:26:27-00:29:19.	Theresa May is narrating the broadcast in first person throughout. It is mainly her voice over visual clips of people meant to be representative of the electorate. At the end, she directly speaks to the camera, repeating "if you put your trust in me and back me...". This PEB is issue-focused on Brexit, but is predominantly centered around her and her team's leadership abilities. Notably, she does not mention the Conservative party.
Conservative, 31/05/17 *Conservative Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 31 May, 22:30. 00:19:03-00:21:55.	Theresa May is the focus of the PEB, with her directly addressing the electorate. It is mostly orientated around her strong leadership in the Brexit location. There are clips of people shown throughout, meant to be representative of the electorate. The election is positioned as a leadership race between May and Corbyn (evidence of presidentialisation). There is also no mention of her party.
Conservative, 17/05/17 *Conservative Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 17 May, 18:30. 00:24:23-00:27:18.	The PEB shows clips from May's leaving the EU speech, with 'inspiring' instrumental music playing without. In between the speech, there are clips of interviews from citizens who are supporting her as a strong leader. It is a leader-centric video, which is focused around her ability to lead Britain through Brexit negotiations- with "give me your backing" repeated.
Labour, 05/06/17 *Labour Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 5 June, 18:30.00:26:54-00:31:54.	The PEB does not show Jeremy Corbyn, nor is he mentioned. It is mainly narrated by various NHS doctors and the main focus is on the struggles of the NHS under the current Conservative government accusing them of underfunding and privatisation. It is primarily a negative-attack on Conservative record on health and welfare, by comparing them with Labour's policy.
Labour, 30/05/17 *Labour Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 30 May, 18:30. 00:24:33-00:29:30.	Narrated by 'ordinary' citizens, alternating between their interviews and clips of the UK. Uses personal stories of how Conservative policies are negatively affecting people's lives, especially in poorer areas like the North. John McDonnell (the Shadow Chancellor) speaks throughout the video to explain specific labour party policy on mostly social issues like welfare, education and health.
Labour, 29/05/17 *Labour Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 29	Narrated by three unidentified citizens (of different races and sex). The main policy theme is Brexit negotiations and the 'untrustworthiness' of the Conservatives. Focused on Labour and their specific policy (not leader), and a negative-attack on the

May, 22:30. 00:18:01-00:20:55.	Conservative party's reputation in power.
Labour, 15/05/17 *Labour Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 15 May, 18:30. 00:22:51-00:27:34.	Focus is on Jeremy Corbyn's leadership and moral values. Has citizens narrating their positive opinions of him over the top of clips of Corbyn. This is mixed with live clips of Corbyn having a discussion with some of the electorate. He mainly talks about around the negative impact of Conservative 'unequal' policies and the Labour plans to rectify this (mostly on social issues).
Labour, 09/05/17 *Labour Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 9 May, 18:30. 00:26:02-00:29:04.	Mostly made up of a speech by female celebrity actress, Maxine Peake. She is from Manchester and is known for being politically active on behalf of the working-class in Britain. There are also clips of Jeremy Corbyn shown with her voiceover. The focus of this was to criticise the decisions of the Conservative and how they affect working-people's lives. Repeats "For the many, not the few", and discusses Labour 'fairer' social policies.
Liberal Democrats, 02/06/17 *Liberal Democrats Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 2 June, 18:30. 00:23:51-00:27:47.	The PEB is meant to show the 'future' of what a Conservative Brexit deal will look like. Follows a female actor as the prime minister (meant to be representing May- as shown by her blue badge) and her revealing her "bad deal". Focus is on Liberal Democrats policy to provide a second referendum. Finishes on clips of 'ordinary' citizens and Tim Farron standing up' against the two major parties and voting for them based off of positive track record.
Liberal Democrats, 25/05/17 *Liberal Democrats Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 25 May, 18:35. 00:26:13-00:29:09.	Tim Farron, from Greater Manchester, directly addresses the camera in a tribute to the Manchester terror attacks. (Happened 3 days prior). Uses his past and present experience of living in Manchester, in a non-political remembrance to those affected by the attacks.
Liberal Democrats, 16/05/17 *Liberal Democrats Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 16 May, 18:30. 00:24:23-00:27:12.	PEB is split into two. Switches between a anonymous female narrator who is talking over abstract visuals about the Liberal Democrats being a strong opposition and criticism Brexit. It then goes to Tim Farron directly talking to the government about his and the wider working-class public negative experience of Conservative policies. Mainly focused on a negative-attack on the Theresa May and the Conservatives policy.
Liberal Democrats, 10/05/17 *Liberal Democrats Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1, London. 10 May, 18:30. 00:25:09-00:28:58.	'Groundhog day' style PEB which shows a ordinary couple repeatedly waking up everyday and fed up of the 'bad' news, such as Brexit, Donald Trump's election, rise of far-right, snap election. Positions the Liberal Democrats as able to change this 'cycle' of the same news/criticisms of the main two parties. At the end, has Tim Farron addressing camera telling people to vote for the Liberal Democrats.
Scottish Nationalist, 06/06/17 *Scottish Nationalist Party Election Broadcast, Reporting Scotland.* 2017. BBC1 Scotland. 6 June, 18:30. 00:26:08-00:28:58.	This PEB is made up of clips of various children playing and taking part in various activities, with inspirational instrumental music placed over the top. The only words spoken is at the end asking the audience 'what kind of country they want' for their children, and that it won't be the same kind as Theresa May. This is unusual as there is no political policy or issues discussed and very little said.

Scottish Nationalist, 16/05/17 *Scottish Nationalist Party Election Broadcast, Reporting Scotland.* 2017. BBC1 Scotland. 16 May, 18:30. 00:24:22-00:27:22.	Female narrator speaking over clips of Scotland. Focus is positive on the SNP and their achievements of devolution in Scotland, and against the Conservative government. Uses emotional appeals to show the negative effect of Conservative policies. Shows Nicola Sturgeon at the very end, addressing the camera saying "Well".
Green, 18/05/17 *Green Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1 London. 18 May, 18:30. 00:25:49-00:28:46.	Satirical PEB, showing actors playing "The race to Number 10-snap election addition", who 'win' by being undemocratic. It is meant to be a humorous representation of the 'corruption' in the other parties. Positions the Green party as a party alternative to this to 'change the game'. No mention of any Green party policies or leaders.
Green, 31/5/17 *Green Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News*. 2017. BBC1 London. 31 May, 18:30. 00:25:58-00:28:54.	Emotional appeal PEB, starts by showing black and white clips of the issues facing Britain. Interjected with facts and figures mostly about social issues. Then goes into colour and showing Green Party protests, urging people to "join the movement". There is no mention of any specific policies or party leaders.
UK Independence, 01/06/17 *UK Independence Party Election Broadcast, BBC London News.* 2017. BBC1 London. 1 June, 18:30. 00:25:28-00:29:13.	Main focus of the PEB is Brexit and their five main pledges, which are repeated by Paul Nuttall (party leader). Mixes between Nuttall and other UKIP prominent figures speaking directly to the camera about their specific policy ideas regarding Brexit (all white men). Also criticises the 'establishment' and other political parties.
UK Independence, 26/05/17 *UK Independence Party Election Broadcast, Ask the Leader with Andrew Neil and Bethan Roberts.* 2017. BBC1 Wales. 26 May, 19:30. 00:52:57-00:56:56.	PEB switches between anonymous male announcer, and various UKIP members, who mainly criticise the current Government. Uses people who are predominantly British working-class. At the end shows clip of the Nuttall discussing the five main pledges of UKIP.
Democratic Unionist, 06/06/17 Democratic Unionist Party. 2017. *2017 DUP Party Election Broadcast 2 - General Election.* 6 June. [Online]. [Date Accessed: 20/02/19]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nhSs4JePcs	PEB starts with three male MP's directly addressing the camera to discuss the DUP's power to 'stand up' for Northern Ireland. Focus on positive image of the DUP versus Sinn Fein and wider Westminster. Shows Arlene Foster (party leader) at the end highlighting main election policies of the DUP.
Democratic Unionist, 09/05/17 Democratic Unionist Party. 2017. *DUP Party Election Broadcast - 2017 General Election.* 9 May. [Online]. [Date Accessed: 20/02/19]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDIB8ZcmTDI	Predominantly shows clips of interviews with 'ordinary' citizens of Northern Ireland listing why they they are voting for the DUP. Switches to Arlene Foster directly addressing the audience and discussing key DUP policy proposals, focused around strengthening unionism. It then finishes DUP Deputy Leader Nigel Dodds reinforcing Fosters points.
Plaid Cymru, 02/06/17 *Plaid Cymru Party Election Broadcast, BBC*	Anonymous woman narrates the PEB, as it shows visual clips meant to illustrate the points of the narrator. Main emphasis is on Plaid Cymru's understanding on Welsh national interest, and

Wales Today. 2017. BBC1 Wales, 2 June. 18:3. 00:22:49-00:27:39.	criticizing the Conservative policy and wider London-centric Westminster. Ends briefly on Leanne Wood (party leader) asking people to vote for them.
Plaid Cymru, 15/05/17 *Plaid Cymru Party Election Broadcast, Channel 4 News* 2017. Channel 4, 15 May. 19:30. 00:25:39-00:29:55.	PEB starts with anonymous male announcer, talking over a man with 'no voice'. Focus is on criticising all other parties who have 'abandoned wales'. Uses a lot of fear appeals and repeatedly asks people to 'defend Wales'. Leanne Wood directly talks to the camera and highlights why people should vote for Plaid Cymru at the end.
Sinn Fein, 09/05/17 Sinn Fein. 2017. *Sinn Fein Election Broadcast 2017 Westminster*. 9 May. [Online]. [Date Accessed: 20/02/19]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=deek3gV7mTY	Narrated mostly by live clips from Michelle O'Neill speaking in a mix of Northern Irish and English (who is not the party leader, but the leader of Sinn Fein in the Northern Ireland Assembly- so a prominent MP). Focus is on Sinn Fein's achievements, and on devolution policy. Also criticised the Conservative party and their record in government.

Appendix 4) Research Results - findings of VideoStyle content analysis

	Total Present	Male	%	Female	%
Number of PEB's	23	12		9	
General					
PEB length					
2:40	16	6	50.00%	8	88.89%
3:40	3	3	25.00%	0	0.00%
4:40	4	3	25.00%	1	11.11%
Political Party					
Conservative	3	0	0.00%	3	33.33%
Labour	5	5	41.67%	0	0.00%
SNP	2	0	0.00%	2	22.22%
Liberal Democrats	4	4	33.33%	0	0.00%
Green Party	2	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
UKIP	2	2	16.67%	0	0.00%
Plaid Cymru	2	0	0.00%	2	22.22%
DUP	2	0	0.00%	2	22.22%
Sinn Fein	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Party Leader speak					
Whole of PEB	5	2	16.67%	3	33.33%
Some of PEB	3	2	16.67%	1	11.11%
End of PEB	7	3	25.00%	4	44.44%
Not shown	7	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Dominant speaker					
Male	9	8	66.67%	1	11.11%
Female	10	2	16.67%	7	77.78%

Cannot determine	4	2	16.67%	1	11.11%
Dominant speaker role					
Party Leader	8	5	41.67%	3	33.33%
Other Party MP	3	2	16.67%	1	11.11%
Anonymous announcer	4	0	0.00%	3	33.33%
Non-politician celebrity	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Citizen/Constituent	3	3	25.00%	0	0.00%
Family member	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Combination	3	1	8.33%	2	22.22%
No one speaks	1	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Other	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
People visualised					
People shown					
No-one	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Party leader only	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Party leader and others	15	7	58.33%	8	88.89%
Opposing leader only	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Opposing leader and others	1	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
opposing and party leader and others	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
people other than party leaders	6	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Other people shown					
Men	22	11	91.67%	9	100.00%
Women	20	10	83.33%	8	88.89%
Children	12	4	33.33%	7	77.78%
Elderly	9	1	8.33%	7	77.78%
Ethnic/racial minorities	11	6	50.00%	4	44.44%
Other senior politicians	6	3	25.00%	3	33.33%
Others	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Female 'actor' gender role					
Normative	23	6	26.09%	17	73.91%
Opposing	12	5	41.67%	7	58.33%
Male 'actor' gender role					
Normative	48	10	20.83%	38	79.17%
Opposing	4	2	50.00%	2	50.00%
PEB overall content					
PEB Focus					
Leader-positive	6	2	16.67%	4	44.44%
Opponent-negative	2	2	16.67%	0	0.00%
Party- Positive	5	2	16.67%	3	44.44%
Opposing Party-negative	9	5	41.67%	2	22.22%
Combination	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Can't determine	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Core emphasis					
Campaign issues/policy ideas	8	6	50.00%	1	11.11%
Party leader image	4	1	8.33%	3	33.33%
Political Party image	10	4	33.33%	5	55.56%
Other	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Sound characteristics					
Party leader live	9	5	41.67%	4	44.44%
Other people live	7	6	50.00%	1	11.11%
Voice over (by leader or surrogate)	5	1	8.33%	3	33.33%
Clips from speech/s	1	0	0.00%	1	11.11%
Not applicable	1	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Negative Attack					
Yes	21	11	91.67%	8	88.89%
No	2	1	8.33%	1	11.11%

Attack Purpose					
characteristics of leader	8	5	41.67%	3	33.33%
policy/stands of leader	12	7	58.33%	4	44.44%
leader qualifications	3	3	25.00%	0	0.00%
leader past-performance	13	9	75.00%	5	55.56%
whole party	19	11	91.67%	6	66.67%
Party Leader - Non verbal behaviour					
Eye contact					
Never	4	3	25.00%	1	11.11%
Sometimes	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Almost always	6	1	8.33%	5	55.56%
Always	6	4	33.33%	2	22.22%
Party leader not present	7	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Face expression					
Smiling	2	0	0.00%	2	22.22%
Attentive/Serious	12	6	50.00%	6	66.67%
Frowning/Glaring	2	2	16.67%	0	0.00%
Party leader not present	7	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Other	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Hand Gestures					
Never	6	1	8.33%	5	55.56%
Sometimes	7	5	41.67%	3	33.33%
Frequently	2	2	16.67%	0	0.00%
Party leader not present	7	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Dominant dress					
Formal/Professional	17	8	66.67%	8	88.89%
Casual/Non-work wear	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Party leader not present	7	4	33.33%	1	11.11%

Verbal appeals					
Dominant type					
Logical appeals	13	7	58.33%	5	55.56%
Emotional appeals	23	12	100.00%	9	100.00%
Credibility/political qualification	10	4	33.33%	6	66.67%
Personal experiences	12	9	75.00%	2	22.22%
Structure					
Inductive	11	7	58.33%	2	22.22%
Deductive	12	4	33.33%	6	66.67%
Cannot determine	2	1	8.33%	1	11.11%
Fear appeal					
Yes	15	8	66.67%	7	77.78%
No	8	4	33.33%	2	22.22%
Appeal content					
Political party ideology	21	11	91.67%	8	88.89%
Issue-related (leader concern)	3	0	0.00%	3	33.33%
Issue-related (vague party policy)	7	1	8.33%	5	55.56%
Issue-related (specific party policy)	9	9	75.00%	0	0.00%
Party leader characteristics	7	4	33.33%	3	33.33%
leader linked to demographics	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Policy issues					
Number discussed					
1-2	3	2	16.67%	1	11.11%
3 -4	7	3	25.00%	4	44.44%
5-7	13	7	58.33%	4	44.44%
8+	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Policy/issues mentioned					
Health and care	17	9	75.00%	6	66.67%

Brexit	14	7	58.33%	6	66.67%
Immigration	9	5	41.67%	2	22.22%
Economy and Taxes	17	9	75.00%	6	66.67%
Education and Family	13	6	50.00%	7	77.78%
Housing	5	4	33.33%	1	11.11%
Welfare and Pensions	14	8	66.67%	4	44.44%
Foreign policy and defense	8	4	33.33%	3	33.33%
Transport and environment	4	2	16.67%	1	11.11%
Devolution	5	1	8.33%	4	44.44%
Other	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Strategies					
Verbal strategies used					
Use of personal tone	6	3	25.00%	3	33.33%
Addressing viewers as peers	19	10	83.33%	7	77.78%
Calling for changes	20	11	91.67%	7	77.78%
Inviting audience participation	21	11	91.67%	8	88.89%
Optimism/hope for future	22	12	100.00%	8	88.89%
Yearning for past	4	2	16.67%	2	22.22%
Promoting traditional values	1	1	8.33%	0	0.00%
Personal experience	9	7	58.33%	2	22.22%
Statistics to support	4	3	25.00%	0	0.00%
Experts to support	2	2	16.67%	0	0.00%
Experiences of others	19	11	91.67%	7	77.78%
Own accomplishments	13	6	50.00%	7	77.78%
Attack opposing party/party leader	20	10	83.33%	8	88.89%
Attack opposing leader personally	4	3	25.00%	1	11.11%
Attack opposing leader policies	13	8	66.67%	3	33.33%

personal comparison between leaders	2	1	8.33%	1	11.11%
General party comparisons	15	10	83.33%	4	44.44%
Impersonal examples	4	4	33.33%	0	0.00%
Gender equality mentioned	2	1	8.33%	1	11.11%
Other	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Characteristics					
Verbal characteristics presented					
Honesty/Integrity	16	11	91.67%	5	55.56%
Toughness/Strength	16	8	66.67%	8	88.89%
Past performance	9	4	33.33%	5	55.56%
Aggressive/fighter	19	10	83.33%	8	88.89%
Cooperation with others	3	1	8.33%	2	22.22%
Competency	13	7	58.33%	6	66.67%
Strong leadership	11	5	41.67%	6	66.67%
Experience in politics	10	2	16.67%	8	88.89%
Westminster outsider	8	5	41.67%	1	11.11%
Sensitive/Understanding/Compassion	14	8	66.67%	4	44.44%
Knowledgeable/Intelligent	4	3	25.00%	1	11.11%
Qualified	11	3	25.00%	8	88.89%
Action Orientated	21	11	91.67%	8	88.89%
Trustworthy	15	9	75.00%	5	55.56%
Commonality	19	11	91.67%	6	66.67%
Other	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Appendix 5) Intercoder-reliability results and working out.

1) Krippendorff's *alpha* reliability coefficient (Neuendorf, 2002, p.156).

	Intercoder reliability results - Krippendorff's Alpha						
		Coder 2					Frequency Table
	Values	0	1			0	182
	0	89	4	93		1	120
Coder 1	1	0	58	58		alpha	0.9448717949
		89	62	151			
alpha coefficient				0.9448717949			

General formula:

Krippendorff's *alpha* (nominal) $= 1 - \frac{nm-1}{m-1}\left(\frac{\Sigma pfu}{\Sigma pmt}\right)$

Where:
Pfu = Product of any frequencies for a given unit that are different (i.e. show disagreement)
Pmt = Each product of total marginals
n = Number of units coded in common by coders
m = Number of coders

Applied formula:

Pfu = (1x1) + (1x1) + (1x1) + (1x1) = 4 disagreements
Pmt = 182 x 120
n = 151
m = 2

$$1 - \frac{(2x151)-1}{2-1}\left(\frac{4}{182x120}\right) = 0.945$$

2. Simple percent agreement (Neuendorf, 2002, p.154).

General formula:

$$\text{PA} = \frac{Total\ number\ of\ agreements}{Number\ of\ Questions}$$

Applied formula:

$$\frac{147}{151} = 0.974$$